

**WHOLE NO 281**

January to 2d August, 1841.		
American,	bales,	20,472
Brazilian,	"	1,760
British India,	"	23,715
Other kinds,	"	2,200

This, I believe, is the first instance in which



the exports of India cotton have exceeded those of ours. Are these facts not to be pondered on by the planters of the South?

The Editor attempts to be witty at my expense, by saying that I am a "half breed," and "scared at my own shadow." He is as well-coming to his wit, as he is to my fact. In conclusion I would only say, that Hayti still competes with Cuba, Java and Brazil; that she still exports to this country over a million of dollars of produce, and imports in return from us less than she sends away. The British West Indies are not going to ruin, as he will find by inquiry that the value of their exports—sugar and coffee—for the present year, will be more valuable than they have been for the last ten years.

A SOUTH CAROLINIAN.

## THE PHILANTHROPIST.

EDITED BY G. BAILEY, JR.

CINCINNATI.

Wednesday Morning, November 24, 1841.

### COMPROMISES OF THE CONSTITUTION.

Ratio of Representation.

May 25, 1787, the Federal Convention assembled for the purpose of forming a better government. On the 29th, Mr. Randolph of Virginia, submitted certain resolutions, as a basis for a new constitution; the second of which was as follows:

"Resolved, therefore, that the rights of suffrage in the National Legislature ought to be proportioned to the number of free inhabitants, or to the number of free inhabitants, as the one or the other rule may seem best in different cases."

[The House voted to resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole on the following day, on the propositions of Mr. Randolph.]

The next day, the resolution just quoted being taken up in its order;

"Mr. Madison, observing that the words, 'or to the number of free inhabitants,' might occasion debates which would draw the Committee from the general question whether the representation should be changed, moved that they might be struck out."

Mr. King observed that the quotas of contribution which would alone remain as the measure of representation, would not answer; because waiving every other view of the matter, the revenue hereafter might be so collected, by the General Government, that the sums respectively drawn from the states, would not appear, and would besides be continually varying.

Mr. Madison admitted the propriety of the observation, and that some better rule ought to be formed.

Col. Hamilton moved to alter the resolution so as to read, "that the rights of suffrage in the National Legislature ought to be proportioned to the number of free inhabitants." Mr. Spaight seconded the motion.

It was then moved that the resolution be postponed, which was agreed to.

[After several attempts to get over the difficulty, Mr. Madison at length moved, that the equality of suffrage established by the Articles of Confederation ought not to prevail in the National Legislature; and that an equitable ratio of representation ought to be substituted. But, the subject was finally postponed, and not resumed till June 9th, when "Mr. Patterson moved, that the Committee resume the clause relating to the rule of suffrage, in the National Legislature." The debate this day turned chiefly on the inconsistency of a proportional representation with the equality of the States. June 11th, the clause was again taken up, when Mr. Sherman (of Connecticut) proposed, that the proportion of suffrage in the first branch should be according to the respective numbers of free inhabitants; and that in the second branch, or Senate, each state should have but one vote, and no more.

"Mr. King and Wilson in order to bring the question to a point, moved that the right of suffrage in the first branch of the National Legislature, ought not to be according to the rule established in the Articles of Confederation, but according to some equitable ratio of representation." This motion passed in the affirmative, 7 to 3.

Mr. Wilson seconded by Mr. Pinckney, then moved, that the following words be added after the words, "equitable ratio"—"in proportion to the whole number of white and other free citizens and inhabitants of every age, sex, and condition, including those bound to servitude for a term of years, and three-fifths of all other persons not comprehended in the foregoing description, except Indians not paying taxes in each State"—this being the rule, as Mr. Madison remarks, in the act of Congress, agreed to by eleven states, for apportioning quotas of revenue on the states, and requiring a census only every five, seven, or ten years. Mr. Gerry opposed this, "asking, why should the blacks who were property at the South, be in the rule of representation more than the cattle and horses of the North?" The motion passed, however, New Jersey and Delaware alone voting against it. June 13th, the Committee rose, and reported nineteen resolutions—the seventh one embracing the two motions just noticed.—This was not taken up until the 27th, when it was considered in its bearings on the representation of the States—the smaller states contending against the larger for equality of suffrage. The debate continued until the 29th, when, one clause of the resolution was adopted, to wit, "that the rule of suffrage in the first branch ought not to be according to that established by the Articles of Confederation." The residue of the resolution was laid over for the purpose of taking up the eighth resolution, respecting the rule of suffrage in the second branch. On this subject a most exciting discussion arose. It will be recollected, that it was the great question between the large and small states, the latter being determined to maintain their equality in at least one of the branches of the National Legislature. In the course of the discussion on the 30th June, Mr. Madison contended that the states were divided into different interests, not by their difference of size, but by other circumstances; the most material of which resulted partly from climate, but principally from the effects of their having or not having slaves.]

"These two causes concurred in forming the great division of interests in the United States. It did not lie between the large and small states. It lay between the Northern and Southern; and if any defensive power were necessary, it ought to be mutually given to these two interests. He was so strongly impressed with this important truth, that he had been casting about in his mind, for some expedient that would answer the purpose. The one which had occurred was, that instead of proportioning the votes of the states in both branches to their respective number of inhabitants, computing the slaves in the ratio of five to three, they should be represented in one branch according to the number of free inhabitants only, and in the other according to the number counting the slaves as free. By this arrangement, the Southern scale would have the advantage in one house, and the Northern in the other. He had been restrained from proposing this expedient by two considerations; one was his unwillingness to urge any diversity of interests on an occasion where it is too apt to arise of itself; the other was, the inequality of powers that must be vested in the two branches, and which would destroy the equilibrium of interests."

[We commend these remarks of Mr. Madison, to those Northern editors who have lately been so prompt to republish an article from the Raleigh (N. C.) Star, designed to prove that there are no conflicting interests between North and South. Whenever a slaveholder argues in this way, he means that there are no conflicting interests, provided you will allow Southern interests to be always paramount.]

In this struggle between the small and large states, was an element of much activity, though hidden from the superficial observer. The Northern and Middle states, in the event of the equality principle being adopted, would have had a majority in the Senate; and thus might have exerted a controlling influence on Southern interests. A proportionate representation would prevent this result. For, as population, it was then thought, was continually tending Southwardly, the Southern states would soon have the majority in both houses. This, independently of the apparent injustice of allowing a small state an equal vote with a large one, was one reason why the delegates from Southern states were so strenuous in contending for a proportional representation.

But the jealousy of the smaller states defeated this policy, so that slaveholding politicians were obliged to resort to other devices of defence. These were, first, a representation of their slaves; secondly, the creation of a sufficient number of new slave states to give them an equality in the Senate; thirdly, the election of the President by electors, to be apportioned according to the representation of the states in Congress. For, if the election of the President had been left to the people, slaves having no votes, the South could have exerted but small influence in the matter.

Monday, July 2nd, the motion to allow an equality of suffrage in the second branch was put, and lost by an equal division of votes. The Convention seemed to have arrived at a full stop, and the wisest were puzzled as to what should be done. At last a committee of one from each state was elected by ballot, and instructed to report a compromise. To it were referred the eighth resolution, and so much of the seventh, relating to the representation according to numbers, as had not been decided on.

July 5th, the Committee made their report; "1. That in the first branch of the Legislature, each of the states now in the Union shall be allowed one member for every forty thousand inhabitants, of the description referred to in the seventh resolution of the Whole House; (recognizing the three-fifths slave principle); that each state not containing that number shall be allowed one member; that all bills for raising and appropriating money, and for fixing the salaries of the officers of the government of the United States, shall originate in the first branch of the Legislature, and shall not be altered or amended by the second branch; and that no money shall be drawn from the public treasury, but in pursuance of appropriations, to be originated in the first branch."

"2. That in the second branch each state shall have an equal vote."

[The propositions were recommended to the Convention, on condition that both should be generally adopted. The report produced much excitement. Some of the members talked in a belligerent style. The noble Mason of Virginia, whose spirit we have had occasion heretofore to admire, said that the report was preferable to an appeal to the world. "It could not be more inconvenient to any gentleman to remain absent from his private affairs, than it was for him, but he would bury his bones in this city, rather than expose his country to the consequences of a dissolution of the Convention, without any thing being done."]

"The first proposition in the report for fixing the representation in the first branch, 'one member for every forty thousand,' being taken up, Mr. Gouverneur Morris (of Pennsylvania) objected to that scale of apportionment. He thought property ought to be taken with the estimate as well as the number of inhabitants."

[He made a motion to this effect;—that representation should be according to the sums to be paid to the general revenue, by the inhabitants of each state respectively. But it was lost; South Carolina alone voting for it.]

"July 6th, Mr. Gouverneur Morris moved to commit so much of the report as relates to one member for every forty thousand inhabitants. His view was that they might absolutely fix the number for each state in the first instance; leaving the legislature at liberty to provide for changes in the relative importance of the states, and for the case of small states. Mr. Wilson seconded the motion, but with a view of leaving the Committee under no implied shackles."

Mr. Pinckney said, there was no good reason for committing. The value of land had been found on full investigation, to be an impracticable rule. The contributions of revenue, including imports and exports, must be changeable in their amount; too difficult to be adjusted, and too injurious to the non-commercial states. The number of inhabitants appeared to him to be the only just and practicable rule. He thought the blacks ought to stand on an equality with the whites; but would agree to the ratio settled by Congress."

[The motion for commitment prevailed, and the members appointed were Mr. Gouverneur Morris, Mr. Gorham, Mr. Randolph, Mr. Rutledge, and Mr. King.]

July 9th, this Committee reported as follows:

"The Committee to whom was referred the first clause of the first proposition reported from the Grand Committee, beg leave to report: That in the first meeting of the Legislature, the first branch thereof consist of fifty-six members, of which number New Hampshire shall have 3; Massachusetts 7; Rhode Island 1; Connecticut 4; New York 6; New Jersey 4; Pennsylvania 8; Delaware 3; Maryland 4; Virginia 9; North Carolina 5; South Carolina 5; Georgia 3."

But as the present situation of the states may probably alter, as well in point of wealth, as in the number of their inhabitants, that the Legislature be authorized from time to time, to augment the number of representatives. And in case any of the states shall hereafter be divided, or any two or more states united, or any new state or states shall be admitted into the Union, the Legislature shall possess authority, to regulate the number

of representatives in any of the foregoing cases, upon the principles of their wealth and number of inhabitants."

[This report was evidently a concession to the South, as, even counting her negroes at three-fifths, it allowed her 5 representatives more than she was entitled to. The vote was taken on the second paragraph without debate, nine states being in favor. The first paragraph was referred to a Committee of one member from each state. On the motion to refer, quite a lively debate sprang up, in the course of which it became evident, that the true principle of representation was well understood, and that the only obstacles to carrying it out fully, arose from purely local interests.]

"Mr. Patterson, (of New Jersey) considered the proposed estimate for the future according to the combined rules of numbers and wealth as too vague. For this reason New Jersey was against it. He could regard no slaves in any other light but as property. They are no free agents, have no personal liberty, no faculty of acquiring property, and like other property are entirely at the will of the master. Has a man in Virginia a number of votes in proportion to the number of his slaves? And if not, why should they be represented in the states to which they belong, why should they be represented in the General Government? What is the true principle of representation? It is an expedient by which an assembly of certain individuals, chosen by the people, is substituted in place of the inconvenient meeting of the people themselves. If such a meeting of the people was actually to take place, would they be represented? They would not. Why then should they be represented? He was also against such an indirect encroachment of the slave trade; observing that Congress in their act relating to the change of the eighth article of confederation had been ashamed to use the term, 'slaves,' and had substituted a description."

Mr. Madison reminded Mr. Patterson that his doctrine of representation, which was in its principle the genuine one, must forever exclude the pretensions of the small states to an equality of votes with the large ones. They ought to vote in the same proportion then as other citizens would do, if the people of all the states were collectively met. He suggested as a proper ground of compromise, that the states in the first branch should be represented according to the number of free inhabitants and in the second, which had for its primary objects, the guardianship of property, according to the whole number, including slaves."

Mr. Butler, (of Georgia) urged warmly the justice and necessity of regarding wealth, in the apportionment of representation. Mr. King, (of Massachusetts) had always expected, that, as the Southern states, he thought, they would not league themselves with the Northern, unless some respect were paid to their superior wealth. If the latter respect those preferential distinctions in commerce, and other advantages which will derive from the connection, they must not expect to receive them, without allowing some advantages in return. Eleven out of the thirteen states had agreed to consider slaves in the apportionment of taxation; and taxation and representation ought to go together."

[True—taxation and representation ought to go together. But it does not follow that the things taxed ought to be represented. Else might dogs and horses claim this honor. The maxim simply meant, that it was wrong to impose taxes on persons, without their consent, either directly given, or through their representatives. The principle was fulfilled, when slaveholders were allowed a representation for themselves—they being taxed for their slaves.]

Then, as now, we find commercial advantages appealed to, as a sufficient reason for sacrificing a fundamental principle. The reader will observe that this principle was clearly understood, its truth acknowledged. Mr. Patterson's doctrine was, that only those should be represented, who, if the whole people were assembled, would be entitled to vote. Mr. Madison called this the true doctrine, and applied it to the states. "They ought to vote in the same proportion in which their citizens would do, if the people of all the states were collectively met." And yet this principle he would deliberately violate, by having slaveholders represented beyond their proportion, because they held slaves. That is, he would have Slavery instead of State Sovereignty to constitute one of the pillars of the government."

But, to return to the order of proceedings. The committee of one from each state, reported the next day, July 10th, "That the first meeting of the General Legislature should be represented by sixty-five members, in the following proportions, to wit:—New Hampshire, 3; Massachusetts, 8; Rhode Island, 1; Connecticut, 5; New York, 6; New Jersey, 4; Pennsylvania, 8; Delaware, 3; Maryland, 4; Virginia, 10; North Carolina, 5; South Carolina, 5; Georgia, 3."

According to this apportionment granting the negroes to be rated at 3-5, the South again was allowed just four members more than its share. But she was not satisfied.

Mr. Rutledge (of South Carolina) moved that New Hampshire be reduced from three to two members.

General Pinckney seconded the motion.

Mr. Madison observed that New Hampshire has probably more than 120,000 inhabitants, and has an extensive country of tolerable fertility. Its inhabitants therefore may be expected to increase faster. He remarked that the four Eastern states having 800,000 souls, have one third fewer representatives than the four Southern states, having not more than 700,000 souls, rating the Blacks at 3 to 5. The Eastern people will advert to these circumstances and be dissatisfied."

He believed them to be very desirous of uniting with their Southern brethren, but did not think it prudent to rely so far on that disposition, as to subject them to any gross inequality. He was fully convinced that the question concerning a difference of interests did not lie where it had been hitherto discussed, between the great and small states, but between the Southern and Eastern. For this reason he had been inclined to yield something in the proportion of representatives, for the security of the Southern. No principle would justify giving them a majority. They were brought as near an equality as was possible. He was not adverse to giving them a still greater security, but did not see how it could be done."

General Pinckney, (of South Carolina) The report before it was committed was more favorable to the Southern states, than it is now stands. If they are to form so considerable a minority, and the regulation of trade is to be given to the General Government, they will be nothing more than overseers for the Northern states. He did not expect the Southern states to be raised to a majority of representatives, but wished them to have something like an equality. At present, by the alterations of the Committee in favor of the Northern states, they are removed further from it than they were before. One member indeed had been added to Virginia, which he was glad of, as he considered her a Southern state. He was glad also that the members of Georgia were increased."

Mr. Williamson (of North Carolina) was not for reducing New Hampshire from 3 to 2, but for reducing some others. The Southern interest must be extremely endangered by the present arrangement. The Northern states are to have a majority in the first instance and the means of perpetuating it."

Mr. Dayton observed, that the line between Northern and Southern interests had been improperly drawn; that Pennsylvania was the dividing state, there being six on each side of her.

General Pinckney urged the reduction; dwelt on the superior wealth of the Southern states, and insisted on its having its weight in the government maintained.

Mr. Gouverneur Morris regretted the turn of the debate. The states he found had many representatives on the floor. Few, he feared, were to be deemed the Representatives of

America. He thought the Southern states have, by the report, more than their share of representation. Property ought to have its weight, but not all the weight. If the Southern states are to supply money, the Northern states are to split their blood. Besides the probable revenue to be expected from the Southern states has been greatly overrated. He was against reducing New Hampshire.

Mr. Randolph (of Virginia) was opposed to a reduction of New Hampshire, not because he had a full title to three members; but because it was in his contemplation, first, to make it the duty, instead of leaving it to the discretion, of the Legislature, to regulate the representation, by a periodical census; secondly, to require more than a bare majority of votes in the Legislature, in certain cases, and particularly in commercial cases."

On the question for reducing New Hampshire to 2 representatives it passed in the negative.—North Carolina, South Carolina, aye 2; Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, aye—8.

General Pinckney and Mr. Alexander Martin moved that three representatives instead of five be allowed to North Carolina.

On the question, it passed in the negative.—North Carolina, South Carolina, aye—3; Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, aye—7.

General Pinckney and Mr. Butler made the same motion in favor of South Carolina. On the question it passed in the negative.—Delaware, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, aye—4; Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, nay—7.

General Pinckney and Mr. Martin moved that Georgia be allowed four instead of three representatives, urging the unexampled fertility of its population. On the question, it passed in the negative.—Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, aye—4; Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, aye—7.

[The apportionment was finally agreed to, South Carolina and Georgia, alone voting against it. So terminated this struggle of the South, with its inferior population, for an immediate equality in representation with the North—a struggle carried on in total disregard of every principle of equity, in the face of every principle, which the Southern delegates themselves contended for when the rule of suffrage for the states was under consideration.]

It appears evident, that undue importance was attached to the South by Northern representatives. Its opulence and future resources were over-estimated. Subsequent history shows that Gouverneur Morris was right when he said that the probable revenue to be expected from the South was overrated. Could the statesmen of the Northern and Middle states have looked into futurity, they would have been less disposed to make concessions to slavery. The receipts into the Treasury of the United States from March 4th 1789 to December 31st 1836, were \$719,045,352.01. Of this \$682,967,784.47 were from customs; the chief burden of which was borne by the free states, as will be conceded, when it is recollected, that about four fifths of the imports enter their ports, and that their population, from the fact of being all free, and more numerous than that of the South, are the heaviest consumers. \$22,253,045.38 of the whole amount are set down to the credit of Internal Revenue. Now, it will not be denied, that the public land in the free states have been a far more fruitful source of revenue than those in the slave states. In fact, in the latter they have scarcely paid for themselves. Of the whole amount, \$1,092,227.52 were received from Postage, the larger portion of which every one knows has been paid in the free states. Finally, of the sum total of receipts, but \$12,742,294.64 were the product of Direct Taxation—of which the free states paid more than their share, because they were taxed according to their entire population, while the slave states were taxed according to their white population, and three-fifths only of their whole laboring class.

We have heard much of the over-reaching faculties of Yankees. This brief exhibit we think, will show that there has been at least one period in their history when they were more sinned against than sinning.

The following motion of Mr. Randolph was made, with a view of opening the way for the future predominance of the Southern interest.

Mr. Randolph moved as an amendment to the Report of the Committee of five, that in order to obtain the alterations in the population and wealth of the several states, the Legislature shall be required to cause a census and estimate to be taken within one year after its first meeting; and every—years thereafter; and that the Legislature arrange the representation accordingly."

[The motion was opposed by Gouverneur Morris. The next day, July 11th, its consideration was resumed.]

"Mr. Mason did not object to the conjunctural ratio, which was to prevail at the outset, but he considered a revision from time to time, according to some permanent and precise standard, as essential to the fair representation required in the first branch. According to the present population of America the Northern part of it had a right to preponderate and he could not deny it. But he wished it not to preponderate hereafter, when the reason no longer continued. From the nature of man, we may be sure that those who have power in their hands, will not give it up while they can retain it. On the contrary, we know that they will always endeavor to enlarge it. If the Southern states, therefore, should have three-fourths of the people of America within their limits, the Northern will hold fast the majority of representatives. One-fourth will govern the three-fourths. The Southern states will complain, but they may complain from generation to generation, without redress—Unless some principle, therefore, which we do justice to hereafter, the decision was to him, he must declare agreeable to the decision for it here, nor support it in his state."

Mr. Williamson, (of North Carolina) was for making it a duty of the legislature to do what was right; and not leaving it at liberty to do or not to do it. He moved that Mr. Randolph's propositions be postponed in order to consider the following: "That in order to ascertain the alterations that may happen in the population and wealth of the several states, a census shall be taken of the free white inhabitants, and three-fifths of those of other descriptions on the first year after the government shall have been adopted; and every—year thereafter, and that the representation be accordingly adjusted."

Mr. Randolph agreed that Mr. Williamson's proposition should stand in place of his. He observed that the ratio fixed for the first meeting was a mere conjuncture; that it placed the power in the hands of that part of America which could not always be entitled to it; that this power would not voluntarily be renounced; and that it was consequently the duty of the Convention to secure its renunciation, where justice might so require, by some constitutional provision. If equality between great and small states be inadmissible, because in that case unequal numbers of constituents would be represented by an equal number of votes, was it not equally inadmissible that a larger and more populous district of America should hereafter have less representation than a smaller or less populous district. It is a fair representation of the people that is secured, the injustice of the Government will shake it to its foundation."

[It is worthy of remark, that one of the most valuable parts of the Constitution, that with regard to the census, should have had its origin in the jealousy of the slaveholder. It was the general opinion of that day, that the South was destined to become the principal section of the

Union—that population was constantly tending from the North to the South. Hence the determination of the slaveholding delegation, to secure by constitutional provision a proportionate political power. Little did they think, that the very provision they wished incorporated in the Constitution would work directly against them, and secure to the free states a continually increasing preponderance; that every ten years, it would diminish the representation of the South, and add to that of the North! They had not yet learned how depopulating and impoverishing were the influences of the system, to which they exacted so many concessions, from which sprung so much sectional jealousy and ambition.]

This motion of Mr. Williamson afforded another opportunity to the slave power.]

Mr. Butler and General Pinckney insisted that blacks be included in the rule of representation equally with the whites; and for that purpose moved that the word "three-fifths," be struck out.

Mr. Gerry (of Massachusetts) thought that three-fifths of them was, to say the least, the full proportion that could be admitted.

Mr. Gorham, (of Massachusetts) This ratio was fixed by Congress, as a rule of taxation. Then it was urged by the Delegates, representing the states having slaves, that the blacks were still more inferior to freemen. At present when the ratio of representation was to be established, we are assured that they are equal to freemen. The arguments on the former occasion had convinced him, that three-fifths was a ratio near the just proportion, and he should vote according to the same opinion now.

Mr. Butler insisted that the labor of a slave in South Carolina was as productive and valuable as that of a freeman in Massachusetts; that as wealth was the great means of defence and utility to the nation, they were equally valuable to it with freemen; and that consequently an equal representation ought to be allowed for them in the government, which was instituted principally, for the protection of property, and was itself to be supported by property."

Mr. Mason could not agree to the motion, notwithstanding it was favorable to Virginia, because he thought it unjust. It is certain that the slaves are valuable, as they raised the value of land, increased the exports and imports, and of course the revenue; would supply the means of supporting and feeding an army, and might in cases of emergency become themselves soldiers. As in these important respects they were useful to the community at large, they ought not to be excluded from the estimate of representation. He could not, however, regard them as equal to freemen, and could not vote for them as such. He added as worthy of remark, that the Southern states have this peculiar species of property, over and above the other species of property, common to all the states.

[How men will suffer themselves to be deluded by words! What is it in a slave that is valuable? His labor. His body and soul would be worthless to the slaveholder, were he unable to labor. But, do not the free states own this species of property? Does not their laboring population perform indeed more labor than that of the slave states? What nonsense then to talk of the superior wealth of the latter because they own human property! The sole value of this property is its ability to produce—but, this ability, so far from being diminished by the enfranchisement of the laborer, is greatly augmented, as every one knows.]

Mr. Williamson reminded Mr. Gorham, that if the Southern States contended for the inferiority of blacks to whites when taxation was in view, the Eastern states on the same occasion, contended for their equality. He did not, however, either then or now, concur in either extreme, but approved of the ratio of three-fifths.

On Mr. Butler's motion, for considering blacks as equal to whites in the apportionment of representation,—Delaware, South Carolina, Georgia, aye—3; Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, nay—7; New York not on the floor.

Mr. Rutledge contended for the admission of wealth in the estimate by which representation should be regulated.

He moved that "at the end of—years, after the first meeting of the Legislature; and every—year thereafter the Legislature shall proportion the representation according to the principles of wealth and population."

[Considerable discussion arose on this resolution. By most, it was thought to require of the Legislature, something vague and indefinite, leaving them a pretext to do nothing at all.—Gouverneur Morris favored it, for this among other reasons—he was averse to admitting the blacks into the census; the people of Pennsylvania would revolt at the idea of being put on a footing with slaves. Mr. Madison opposed it. He could see no serious objection against fixing numbers for the perpetual standard of representation. In the United States, the standard was sufficiently accurate for the object contemplated. Although the climate varied considerably, yet as the government, the laws, and the manners of all, were nearly the same, and the intercourse between different parts perfectly free, population, industry, arts, and the value of labor would constantly tend to equalize themselves. Where labor would yield most, people would resort; till the competition should destroy the inequality. Hence it is that the people are constantly swarming from the more, to the less populous places—from Europe to America—from the Northern and Middle parts of the United States to the Southern and Western. They go where land is cheaper, because there labor is dearer.—Mr. Mason concurred with Mr. Madison. As soon as the Southern and Western population should predominate, which must happen in a few years, the power would be in the hands of the minority, and would never be yielded to the majority, unless provided for by the Constitution.]

Mr. Madison lived to see all the laws of population to which he had referred, completely contravened by an agent, of whose power he then had no conception. Since then, the boundaries of the South have been enlarged, by the addition of Florida, and the rich territory of Louisiana, and yet, so far from population tending southwardly, the whole south, in numbers is continually falling behind the Northern, Middle and North-Western states.

The motion to postpone Mr. Williamson's motion, to make way for that of Mr. Rutledge was rejected.

The first clause of Mr. Williamson's motion, directing a census to be taken of the free inhabitants, passed in the affirmative, Delaware, Maryland, South Carolina and Georgia voting against it.]

The next clause as to three-fifths of the negroes being considered—

"Mr. King being much opposed to fixing numbers as the rule of representation, was particularly so on account of the blacks. He thought the admission of them along

with the whites at all, would excite great dissensions among the states having no slaves. He had not noticed as to any particular point, that he would not acquiesce in a declaration that he would say that in any case such a thing. He was not to be made by him, it would be in representatives made by the committee, the Southern slaves had received more than the number of their white, and three-fifths of their black population, entitled them to.

Mr. Sherman, (of Connecticut) South Carolina had not more beyond her population than New York and New Hampshire; nor either of them more than was necessary in order to avoid fractions, or reducing them below their proportions. Georgia had more, but the rapid growth of that state seemed to justify it. In general, the allotment might not be just, but considering all circumstances, he was satisfied with it.

Mr. Gorham, He was aware that there might be some weight in what had fallen from his colleague, as to the umbrage which might be taken by the people of the Eastern states. But he recollected, that when the proposition of Congress for changing the eighth Article of the Confederation was before the legislature of Massachusetts, the only difficulty then was, to satisfy them that the negroes ought not to have been considered equally with the whites instead of being considered in the ratio of three-fifths only."

[They were then to have been a rule of taxation only.—Madison.]

Mr. Wilson did not well see on which principle the admission of blacks in the proportion of three-fifths could be explained. Are they admitted as citizens?—then why are they not admitted on an equality with white citizens? Are they admitted as property?—why is other property not admitted into the computation? These were difficulties, however, which he thought must be overcome by the necessity of compromise. He had some apprehensions also, from the tendency of the blending of the blacks with the whites, to give disgust to the people of Pennsylvania, as he had been intimated by his colleague, (Gouverneur Morris).

Mr. Gouverneur Morris was compelled to declare himself reduced to the dilemma of doing injustice to the Southern states, or to human nature, and he must therefore do it to the former. For he could never agree to give such encouragement to the slave trade, as would be given by allowing them representation for their negroes; and he did not believe those states would ever confederate on terms that would deprive them of that trade.

On the question for agreeing to include three-fifths of the blacks,—Connecticut, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, aye—4; Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, South Carolina, nay—6.

[South Carolina voted no, and probably Delaware, because they wished the slaves to be represented equally with the whites. Maryland voted no, because she wished the phraseology altered so as to be less exceptionable to the Eastern and Middle states.]

The resolution of Mr. Williamson underwent a few other alterations, and the question then being taken on it, it was rejected unanimously.]

July 12th.—Mr. Gouverneur Morris moved to add to the clause empowering the legislature to vary the representation according to the principles of "wealth and numbers of inhabitants," a proviso, that "taxation shall be in proportion to representation."

Mr. Butler contended again, that representation should be according to the full number of inhabitants, including all the blacks; admitting the justice of Mr. Gouverneur Morris' motion.

Mr. Mason also admitted the justice of the principle but was afraid of any embarrassment might be occasioned to the legislature by

Mr. Gouverneur Morris admitted that some objections lay against his motion, but supposed they would be removed by restraining the rule to direct taxation; with regard to indirect taxation on exports and imports, and on consumption, the rule would be inapplicable.

General Pinckney liked the idea. He thought it so just that it could not be objected to; but foresaw that if the revision of the census was left to the discretion of the legislature, it would never be carried into execution. The rule must be fixed and the execution of it enforced by the constitution. He was alarmed at what was said yesterday concerning the negroes. [By Gouverneur Morris.] He was again alarmed at what had been thrown out concerning the taxing of exports. South Carolina has in one year exported £600,000, sterling, all which was the fruit of the labor of the blacks. Will she be represented in proportion to this amount? He hoped a clause would be inserted into the system, restraining the legislature from taxing exports.

Mr. Wilson proposed a principle, but could not see how it could be carried into execution, unless restrained to direct taxation.

Mr. Gouverneur Morris having so varied his motion by inserting the word "direct," it passed, *non. con.* as follows: "provided, always, that direct taxation ought to be proportioned to representation."

[Note this, as the germ of other of those rare compromises, in which the North gives substance for shadows.]

"Mr. Davis, of North Carolina, said it was high time now to speak out. He said that it was meant by some gentlemen to deprive the Southern states of any share of representation for their blacks. He was sure that North Carolina would never confederate on any terms that did not raise them at least to three-fifths of the Eastern states meant, therefore, to exclude them altogether, the business was at an end."

Mr. Gouverneur Morris. It had been said that it is high time to speak out. As one member, he would candidly do so. He came here to form a compact for the good of America, and he was ready to do so with all the states. He hoped and believed that all would enter into such a compact. If they would, he was ready to join with any state that would. But as the compact was to be voluntary, it is in vain for the Eastern states to insist on what the Southern states would never agree to. It is equally vain for the latter to require what the other states can never agree to. The people of Pennsylvania will never agree to a representation of negroes. What can be desired by these states more than has already been proposed—that the Legislature shall from time to time regulate representation according to population and wealth?

General Pinckney desired that the rule of wealth should be according to property existing. But as it did exist, the Legislature; and that property in slaves should not be exposed to danger under a government instituted for the protection of property.

The first clause in the report of first Grand Committee was postponed.



circumstances of the states, *Resolved*, that a census be taken within two years from the first meeting of the Legislature of the United States, and one within the term of years afterwards, of all the inhabitants of the United States, in the manner and according to the ratio recommended by Congress in their resolution of April 1783; and that the Legislature of the United States shall proportion the direct taxation accordingly.

[To such disingenuous expedients did this compromising spirit drive honorable, high-minded men. The constitution of the United States is disfigured by artifices, springing from the supposed necessity of conceding something to slavery.]

"Mr. King. Although this amendment varies the aspect somewhat, he had still two powerful objections against trying down the Legislature to the rule of numbers—first, they were at this time an uncertain index of the relative wealth of the States; if they were a just index at this time, it cannot be supposed always to continue so. He was far from wishing to retain any unjust advantage whatever in one part of the Republic. If justice was not the basis of the connection, it could not be of long duration. He must be short-sighted indeed who does not foresee that, whenever the Southern States shall be more numerous than the Northern, they can and will hold a language, that will save them into justice."

[It was the wish of Mr. King to have it left to the discretion of the Legislature to alter the representation, according to wealth, as well as numbers.]

"Mr. Pinckney moved to amend Mr. Randolph's motion, so as to make 'blacks equal to the whites in the ratio of representation.' This he urged was nothing more than justice. The blacks are the laborers, the peasants, of the Southern States. They are as productive of pecuniary resources as those of the Northern States. They add equally to the wealth, and considering money as the sinews of war, to the strength of the nation. It will also be politic with regard to the Northern States, as taxation is to keep pace with representation."

(The motion failed, South Carolina and Georgia alone voting for it.)

After the proposition of Mr. Randolph, as moved by Mr. Wilson, had been amended, by inserting 7 in the place of 2 years, and requiring a census every 10 years, the question was taken, —Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, aye—6; New Jersey, Delaware, no—2; Massachusetts, South Carolina, divided.

Thus was this fundamental vice in representation introduced by the votes chiefly of the Southern States—by a minority in fact of all the States.)

"Friday, July 13th, on motion of Mr. Randolph, the vote of Monday last, authorizing the Legislature to adjust, from time to time, the representation upon the principles of wealth and numbers of inhabitants, was reconsidered by the House, in order to strike out *wealth*, and add the resolution that requiring periodical revision according to the number of whites and three-fifths of the blacks. The motion was in the words following.—But as the present situation of the States may probably alter in the number of their inhabitants, that the Legislature of the United States be authorized, from time to time, to apportion the number of representatives, in case any of the States shall hereafter be divided, or any two or more States united, or new States created within the limits of the United States, the Legislature of the United States shall possess authority to regulate the number of representatives in any of the foregoing cases, upon the principle of the number of inhabitants, according to the provisions herein mentioned."

Mr. Gouverneur Morris opposed the alteration, as leaving still an incoherence. If negroes were to be viewed as inhabitants, and the revision was to proceed on the principle of numbers of inhabitants, they ought to be added in their entire number, and not in the proportion of three-fifths. If, as property, the word *wealth* was right; and striking it out would produce the very incoherence which it was meant to get rid of. The train of business, and the late turn which it had taken, had led him, he said, into deep meditation on it, and he would candidly state the result. A distinction had been set up, and urged, between the Northern and Southern States. He had hitherto considered this doctrine as heretical.—He still thought the distinction groundless. He saw, however, that it is persisted in; and the Southern gentlemen will not be satisfied unless they see the way open to their gaining a majority in the public councils. The consequence of such a transfer of power from the maritime to the interior and landed interest will, he foresees, be such an oppression to commerce, that he shall be obliged to vote for the vicious principle of equality in the second branch, in order to provide some defence for the Northern States against it. But to come nearer to the point, either this distinction is fictitious or real; if fictitious, let it be dismissed; and let us proceed with due confidence. If real, instead of attempting to idealize incompatible things, let us at once take a friendly leave of each other. There can be no end of demands for security if every particular interest is to be entitled to it. The Eastern States may claim it for their fishery, and for other objects, and the Southern States claim it for their peculiar objects. In this struggle between the two ends of the Union, which part ought the Middle States, in point of policy, to take? To join their Eastern brethren, according to his ideas. If the Southern States get the power into their hands, and be joined as they will be, with the interior country, they will inevitably bring on a war with Spain for the Mississippi. This language is already being uttered. The interior country having no interest in property exposed on the sea, will be little affected by such a war. He wished to know what security the Northern and Middle States will have against this danger? It has been said that North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia only, will in a little time have a majority of the people of America. They must in the case include the great interior country, and every thing was to be apprehended from their getting the power into their hands.

Mr. Butler. The security that the Southern States want is that their negroes may not be taken from them, which some gentlemen within and without doors have a very good mind to do. It was not supposed that North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia would have more people than all the other States, but many more relative to the other States than they now have. The people and strength of America are evidently bearing southwardly and southwestwardly."

[Mr. Randolph's motion passed in the affirmative. July 14th, the convention agreed to reconsider the two propositions touching the originating of money bills in the first, and the equality of votes in the second branch. The large States again made an onset on this principle. Mr. Pinckney made a motion to the effect, that the States should be represented in the second branch according to their entire population. The Southern delegates generally were strenuous on this point. We have already indicated one reason for this policy on their part. The following, from the remarks of Mr. Madison confirms our statement. His fifth objection to the equality of votes in the second branch is thus stated: "4 The perpetuity it would give to the preponderance of the Northern against the Southern scale, was a serious consideration. It seemed now to be pretty well understood, that the real difference of interest lay, not between the large and small, but between the Northern and Southern States. The institution of slavery and its consequences formed the line of discrimination. There were five States on the Southern, eight on the Northern side of this line. Should a proportional representation take place, it was true, the Northern would still outnumber the other; but not in the same degree at this time; and every day would tend towards an equilibrium."

The reader has doubtless all along observed the exhibition of sectional jealousy by the South. The most patriotic of the Southern

members could not divest themselves of the habit of testing every thing by a Southern standard. The first question with them always was, how will Southern interests be affected? This sectional feeling was seldom displayed by the delegates from the Northern and Middle States, unless when provoked by the distrust and undisguised selfishness of the South. At the bottom of this feeling on the part of the South lay Slavery. Southern statesmen were perfectly aware, that this system was an exception to natural justice, a violation of the laws of nature.—That it was therefore in constant danger of assault. That the legislation which would favor free labor, must in many instances impair the value of slave labor. Hence, their assiduity in providing checks for the free North, in guarding against the slightest encroachment on what they termed Southern interests, in opening a way for the future preponderance of the South. "The institution of slavery and its consequences," as Mr. Madison admits, were the source of this sectional policy.

July 16th, the whole report as amended was put to vote, and passed.—Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, (Mr. Spaight, no)—aye, 5. Pennsylvania, Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, no—4; Massachusetts, divided.

(To be Continued.)

SINGULAR MEETING.—A singular meeting was lately held in Broadway Tabernacle, New York, to consider the subject of the second coming of our Saviour.

IMPORTANT DECISION.—On our first page is the highly important decision of the Supreme Court, in the Mississippi case, with the opinions of Judge McLean, and Chief Justice Taney, on the power of Congress over the slave-trade.

CORN LAWS.—On the same page is an interesting correspondence on the Corn Laws of England, and the bearings of their repeal on American Slavery.

KIDNAPPERS.—Several kidnappers from Virginia were lately arrested in Portersville, Pa., for attempting to carry off four colored persons, as slaves.

GEORGIA AGAIN IN THE FIELD.—Georgia is always getting by the ears with her neighbors. She has this time to deal with a man, who is not to be frightened. Governor Seward has refused to give up a person claimed as a slave by the Executive of Georgia, unless furnished with proof that he is a slave. The Governor of Georgia in his message says, the proof is convenient enough, but he shall not forward it. Meantime he holds the following language.

"I would therefore recommend that a law be passed subjecting to inspection every package of goods that shall be imported, either directly or indirectly, from the State of New York, or any other State manifesting the same disposition of hostility to our institutions; and that competent officers be appointed to execute the law, with sufficient salaries to be provided by duties on goods imported from these States; and moreover, that all suspected persons coming from such States be required to find security for their good behavior; and particularly that they will in no manner interfere or hold intercourse with our slave population while within our limits."

The Supreme Court of the United States differ somewhat with the Georgia Governor, as will be seen by referring to their opinions, reported in the Mississippi case.

LIBERTY VOTE.—The Liberty vote in Massachusetts, is about 4000. The anti-slavery men have defeated the election in 60 towns. Several of the Liberty candidates are elected. In Michigan, so far as heard from, seven counties have given 538 votes to the Liberty candidate for Governor. No returns yet from New York—probably 6 or 7000 votes have been given. The vote in Pennsylvania was about 1000.

SYNOD OF CINCINNATI, (OLD SCHOOL).—We are rather surprised to learn that the Synod of Cincinnati, *Old School*, came out against slavery in their last session. We take the following from the Presbyterian paper at Louisville.

"Slavery.—The Synod took strong ground on this subject, at least, ahead of anything we have yet seen in our Church. Several resolutions were presented to the Synod, but the first of them was contained in the following, the first of the series.—*Resolved*, That all the judicatories, subordinate to this Synod, be solemnly enjoined, firmly and faithfully, to exercise discipline on those, who justify these sins by appeal to the Scriptures, [as guilty of a blasphemous denial of the infinite holiness of God and the purity of his word.] This latter clause being guilty of a blasphemous denial, &c., was struck out, and the resolution was adopted by a vote of 39 for, and 30 against."

THE MIGHTY PARISH.—The parish of Concordia which has been threatening the people of Ohio so long, does not contain a single post-office. No wonder the editor of their paper thinks he is annihilating the abolitionists. We are amused at the estimate he places on his own services against the fanatics. Nothing can be more like news to our readers than the following, which he copies into his paper, from the Louisiana Gazette, published at Shreveport, where we should guess they had as few post-offices as at Concordia.

"Highly Complimentary.—The Shreveport Louisiana Gazette of October 2, has an article which is thus prefaced: 'It is from the Concordia Intelligencer, a paper which though but a few months in existence, has already made itself the terror of that society of abolitionists and fanatics, which now appear to have such sway throughout Ohio and other western States. You are laboring in a good cause, Mr. Smith; one which deserves the notice and support of every southerner.'"

ELECTIONS.—The whigs have carried Massachusetts. In New York, the democrats on joint ballot will have a majority of 64.

"The Cincinnati Philanthropist, the abolition organ, lately thrown into the Ohio river, is again on its legs, and doing its work of treason, (reason) against southern rights and southern peace. The editor sent us by the last mail his paper of October 13th, which went to the flames quick and fast. We cannot consent to answer anything in an abolition paper. As to 'Swaggar,' if the editor of the Philanthropist and all his troop of friends come into this part of the world, to say the least of it, they may chance to get a bloody nose. As to the brag of the Philanthropist about flour, and his comments about a trifling paragraph of this paper, it is well enough for him and his brothers in treason to know, that all our population, white and black, enjoy better health, and live better upon good corn bread, than they do when gloated with Ohio flour."

After all, the Intelligencer bestows as long an article on the Philanthropist, as on any thing else. How does he know we are doing a work

of treason against the South, if he put our paper in the fire as soon as he gets it? We can't believe this—we rate his good taste too high. We venture to say that the Philanthropist is as great a treat to him as Ohio flour, after he has grown dyspeptic by eating sour bread.

THE RIGHT SPIRIT.—The Constitution of the United States binds one State to deliver up fugitives from labor or service in other States—but it does not bind us to be slave-catchers for the South. Hence the press in a free State that advertises a runaway, does about as mean an act as can be conceived of. Mr. Clark of the Logan Gazette, Bellefontaine, takes the right view of the matter.

"We would inform the gentleman who sent us for publication an advertisement of *Runaway slaves*, that we cannot prostitute our columns to such a purpose. We are not an abolitionist by any means; but we cannot permit ourselves to be instrumental in supporting and sustaining the 'peculiar institution' of the South. While the laws of our State, tie up the hands of every citizen, and prohibit his assisting slaves to escape, our conscience restrains us from being accessory, in any way, to their recapture."

THE BAPTIST DENOMINATION.—The Baptist denomination of this country numbers 573,702 members.

ENLIGHTENED PATRIOTISM.—They have some enlightened patriots in Indiana. The Protectionist says the following is an exact copy of a notice, posted up in Van Buren township, Madison county, the day of the late election.

"Act of 1841 Be it enacted by the general assembly of the State of Van Buren township that no Abolitionist shall be allowed to vote at the polls Bar in arms in the Military service works Roads pay pole tax or Bee A witness for or against a white Man or a Dutch Man or to hold any office of trust Or profit this law to be in force From and after its passage the 1 day of September 1841"

AMERICAN AUTHORS.—Bryant's Poem has been published in London, in Smith's Standard Library. The works of Richard H. Dana and Henry W. Longfellow will appear in the same series.

ALLOWANCES.—The City Council has lately been employed in discharging bills for various items, growing out of the mobs in September. November 17th, \$24 were ordered to be paid for services of Deputy Marshals; \$40 for refreshments to a company of horsemen; \$18 for refreshments to a company of light infantry; \$56 for refreshments to the German rifle company; \$52 57 for damages done to the arms and equipments of the Lafayette Guards.

Paying men for doing nothing, but *refreshing* themselves, &c! The petition for remuneration for losses sustained by colored people, owing, as we all know to the abominable remissness of the city authorities, was rejected! It is a wonder the rioters do not present a bill for their trouble and loss of time in destroying the press of the Philanthropist. The Council, it is seen, have remunerated a military company for damages done them by the mob. Will they compensate Mr. Alley for the loss inflicted on him by the mob? We hope their consistency will be tested.

SENTIMENT ABROAD.—The following resolutions were lately passed by the Western Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society.

"*Resolved*, That we hail with delight and heartfelt sympathy, the high ground recently taken at Lebanon, by the Judges of the Supreme Court of Ohio, in deciding that every slave brought or sent by the owner into the State, shall be at once and forever free; and that we are encouraged to look with confidence, to all the States formed out of the North West Territory, as soon to become by judicial decision a free soil for fugitive slaves from Kentucky, and all other slave States, (not of the original thirteen) under the ordinance of 1787."

*Resolved*, That we view with indignation and abhorrence, the recent outbreak of mob violence in Cincinnati against the unoffending colored population and the abolitionists of that city, as involving in itself the perfection of cowardice and depravity. And we hereby express our heartfelt sympathy with those who suffered from the lawlessness which was virtually authorized by the city authorities."

*Resolved*, That we highly approve of the conduct of the Editor of the Philanthropist in maintaining his ground in the midst of violence, and against the advice of trembling friends, urging him virtually to desert his important post."

THE FAME OF CINCINNATI.—The late riots in Cincinnati are quoted with triumph by the Legation in Paris, to give the lie to the boasted maxim, that men can govern themselves! "The awful cases of lynch-law in your South-West," says the Paris correspondent of the National Intelligencer, "the sanguinary riots at Cincinnati; the final wreck of the Bank of the United States; the rifle duels with Judges; and above all the outrageous epithets and blows exchanged on the floor of Congress, have made us hang our heads in this capital, surrounded as we are by people, who rejoice in obtaining materials or pretences of scorn with reference to American Republicanism and all Democracy."

TEXAS.—Look out! Says the Natchez Free Trader—

"We have reason to believe, from some advisers, that a new proposition relative to the union of Texas with this country will be brought forward by a distinguished gentleman at the next session of Congress, under very favorable auspices." This warning is given, and it behooves the non-slaveholding States to be prepared for the conflict. They must never consent to such an annexation on any terms. Sooner let the Union be dashed in pieces.

OUR POLICE.—Universal is the complaint of the inefficiency of our police. Murders are committed, and houses fired, and the criminals suffered to escape. All eyes are turned to the City Council, but that considerate body has hitherto refused to strengthen the police, lest Abolitionists should be the special gainers. This, so far as we can understand, was the true reason why it declined encouraging the organization of citizens' companies.

SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

The Cincinnati Chronicle lately republished from the Baltimore American, an article on the subject of British slavery in East India, of which the following is an extract.

"The influence which fanaticism combined with self-interest and political animosity may exercise over the minds of men, and even of intelligent men, is strikingly exhibited by the course which British Abolitionists pursue towards this country. They inveigh against the existence of slavery in the United States; they concentrate an unusual degree of solicitude upon our domestic concerns; they expend a large amount of superfluous sympathy, to say nothing of mon-

ey, in deploring and in seeking to remove what they regard as a great evil amongst us; yet to the existence of slavery in their own dominions, under their own laws, and with their own knowledge and consent, they seem strangely blind."

We confess that the endorsement of these statements by such a paper as the Chronicle, surprised us; for we thought its intelligent editor could not be ignorant of the great movements now on foot, in Great Britain against East India slavery. The following resolutions of the London Anti-Slavery Committee will show how unjust are the strictures of the Baltimore American.

At a special meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, held at No. 27 New Broad Street, on Friday the 17th September, 1841.

It was resolved, "That, whilst this Committee deeply lament that causes should have existed, during the late session of Parliament, to prevent the subject of slavery in British India from being brought under the serious and deliberate attention of the House of Commons; and whilst they greatly regret the loss of the invaluable assistance of the Right Honorable Dr. Lushington, in the advocacy of the anti-slavery cause in that House, they gladly avail themselves of the aid of Sir Eardley Wilmot, Bart, to give notice of a motion thereon, to be brought under the attention of the Legislature at the earliest possible period."

"That, believing slavery, however modified, or sanctioned, to be a crime against God, and that it is therefore an evil not to be mitigated, but destroyed, the Committee would respectfully urge upon Sir Eardley Wilmot the necessity of framing his motion so as to secure its immediate and entire abolition, as most in accordance with Christian duty, in harmony with the great work of emancipation accomplished in the West Indies, and in union with the laws and institutions of Great Britain; and so as to secure to every human being resorting to any part of the territories, dependencies, and possessions under its sway, the unquestionable right of personal liberty, and the complete protection of the laws."

"That the Committee, deeply feeling the magnitude and character of the evil to be destroyed, and the mighty influence its abolition must have in hastening the overthrow of slavery and the slave trade, wherever they exist, entreat the friends of the anti-slavery cause, throughout the United Kingdom, the emancipated colonies, and British India, to sustain the efforts of the Committee by petitions to both Houses of Parliament, and by memorials and addresses to the constituted authorities, in seeking its immediate, unconditional overthrow."

(Signed) G. W. ALEXANDER, Ch'mn."

It is seldom you find a political paper speaking out so plainly and fearlessly on the question of slavery, as the Clinton County Republican, in the following article.

THE SLAVE POWER.

The St. Louis Bulletin, of a late date, contains the following, drawn forth in regard to Mr. Clay's letter to the Baltimore Committee, which contended that the veto power ought to be taken from the President of the United States:

"Some of these—whigs—who have been admirers of Mr. C. for twenty years, can hardly be made to believe that Henry of the west could so far forget himself, as to advocate a measure so destructive to the interests of the country—and especially to the rights and interests of the slaveholding States—a measure, directly at war with the principles of our government—that of giving the legislative branch of the government, the entire control of affairs—depriving the executive of all power to interpose a check to any unconstitutional, unsafe or unwise measure which the whims and caprices of a disorganizing, disaffected, Congress might pass in a moment of excitement. No, when it is known that the non-slaveholding States have a majority of the representatives, southerners will not feel safe, if deprived of the veto power—the only guarantee they have that their rights will be respected."

If this objection is to be urged against Mr. Clay, or any other man we are ready to meet it. It is the first intimation of the kind, to our knowledge, that has yet been thrown out by a southerner, and we are glad the cleven foot has been laid. Although we don't number ourselves among the abolitionists, yet we are ready to contend for right, come from what source it may. We have ever contended that slavery is a curse to our country, our institutions, and to the peace and happiness of mankind. The existence of slavery at the capital of this Union, is a damning stain to our national escutcheon, and should be wiped away. Europe, in speaking of the liberty which Americans profess to enjoy, says that the very heart of the United States is bound in chains; and that the freedom of which they boast is but an empty sound. This is true. Instead of the Constitution of the United States being carried out, where that Constitution exists, from whence its glorious doctrines emanate, is a sin, a damning sin, exists contrary to the fundamental principles of our constitution. The District of Columbia, which should be free, pure and uncontaminated, is one of the greatest slave markets in the Union—it is one of the most contaminated places in the whole country.

We therefore say, southerners wish to make the doctrine contended for by Mr. Clay in his Baltimore letter the issue, we are ready to take the position which Mr. Clay assumes. And we go in for a complete regeneration in the District of Columbia—slavery must be abolished there, and every other place where the government has the power to proclaim liberty. America is not a free country—liberty does not exist here in its full sense. That man who will support the existence of slavery in the District of Columbia, is an enemy to his country, her institutions, and all mankind. More anon.

GROSS.—Dr. Lardner, who absconded from England some time since with another man's wife, has been solicited by respectable professors, to deliver lectures in New York. A grosser insult could hardly be inflicted upon a civilized people. No matter what Dr. Lardner's attainments may be, he is a scoundrel, and men who can so easily pass over his villany, show themselves of kindred spirit.

OUR CITY COUNCIL.—Recently, when an application was made for a tavern license, one of the reasons given for wishing it instead of a coffee-house license, was, that the applicant's house was one of the most frequented drinking establishments in the city, and it was desired to be able to sell liquor on Sunday, and thus compete with his neighbors.

Such according to the Cincinnati Gazette, is the statement made in his place by a respectable member of the council.

We wonder whether such a council is to be reformed by moral suasion. Not a member, we venture to say, of this body, who does not highly approve of the Washington Societies.

THE CASE OF MAHAN.

The proceedings below will speak for themselves. The case of J. B. Mahan must appeal to every heart. Mr. Wilder, his agent, will proceed at once, to see what aid he can obtain for this unfortunate victim of slavery.

Meeting of the Executive Committee.

At a special meeting of the Executive Committee of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society, held November 15th, Mr. H. Wilder, from Georgetown, Brown county, laid before them the case of J. B. Mahan, who by the artifice and violence of the slave power, has been despoiled of nearly all his property, and is yet threatened with being turned out with a large family, penniless upon the world. He stated, that at a meeting of anti-slavery men in Ripley, it was resolved to sue \$3000, in order to re-imburse, to some extent, the losses of the said Mahan—that he had been appointed an agent to collect funds for this purpose, and wished an expression from the

Committee, of approbation of the object of his mission.

The Committee thereupon took action as follows: Whereas, J. B. Mahan, in the opinion of the Committee, has been the victim of peculiarly aggravated wrongs—therefore,

*Resolved*, That we regard him as deserving the sympathy and aid of the friends of liberty and law every where, and approve of the mission of Mr. Wilder, the agent regularly authorized by a committee of his friends to raise funds for his relief.

Ordered, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the Philanthropist. C. DONALDSON, Ch'n. A. HOPKINS, Sec'y.

WILSON SHANNON.—The St. Clairsville Gazette states that Wilson Shannon will not be a candidate for the Governorship of Ohio.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, we learn, has signified his intention of retiring, at the close of the present Congress.

From the Signal of Liberty.

ANTI-SLAVERY PAPERS. In Maine, is the Liberty Standard, which supports the nomination of Birney and Morris. In New Hampshire, is the People's Advocate, which supports Birney and Morris. It is a spirited paper.

In Vermont, the Voice of Freedom advocates the Liberty party ticket.

In Massachusetts, the Free American supports the Liberty nomination, while the Liberator opposes it and advocates the old organization. In Connecticut is the Charter Oak, published monthly.

New York has the Emancipator, the Friend of Man at Utica, the Madison County Abolitionist, the American Citizen at Rochester, and the Anti-Slavery Reporter, at New York City—all devoted to the interests of the Liberty party.—The A. S. Standard, published in New York City, opposes the independent nominations.

Pennsylvania has the Spirit of Liberty, which supports the Liberty nominations, and the Freeman, published at Philadelphia, which has just adopted the same principle.

Ohio has the Philanthropist at Cincinnati, a Liberty paper in every sense of the word, and very efficient.

Indiana has the Protectionist, a Birney and Morris paper, and the Free Labour Advocate, which opposes the use of goods produced by slave labor.

Illinois has the Genius of Liberty, a decided Liberty party publication.

Besides these, there are religious publications which promulgate strong anti-slavery doctrines and are very efficient. The Morning Star, a Freewill Baptist paper of New Hampshire, is one of the best of this class. The Zion's Watchman takes anti-slavery ground among the Methodists. The New York Evangelist is also anti-slavery in sentiment, but is so much hindered with New Schoolism and other adverse influences, that it accomplishes but little in comparison with what it might. There are also one or two thorough Baptist anti-slavery papers.

Our readers will perceive from this imperfect list, that the cause of liberty is not yet cast down. She can yet speak, and thunder the truth in the ear of the oppressor. It will be seen that twelve or more of these papers are devoted to independent nominations and support Birney and Morris.

Beside these, there is the Tocsin of Liberty, Albany; and the Aurora, New Lisbon, O., advocates of the Liberty Party.

SLAVERY AND THE CHURCH. R. G. Breckenridge, of the Baltimore Magazine, who will not be suspected of partiality to the abolition enterprise, speaks in the following terms of slavery and the attitude of the Church and clergy in relation to it.

Finally, if slavery be a sin, it is certainly a sin of no common magnitude. The cry it is wholly a political affair, and that the church steps out of her sphere in meddling with the subject, is worse than idle. Its political aspect we grant it bad enough, and fairly belies our high sounding professions of republicanism, but its evils in a moral point of view, may truly be termed LEGION; the church has cherished it in her bosom, and sustained it by her example, until it has reared its head so high in the sanctuary, as almost to bid defiance to her authority. This is evidently one of the worst signs of the times. But if we must wait for the civil authorities to take the lead of opposing this sin, what is it but an acknowledgement that politics are purer than religion. We are truly in a woful plight, if the church must abandon her contest with sin, and lean for support upon the arm of the world. Perhaps nothing tends so much to perpetuate this monstrous system, as the acknowledged fact that men truly pious support it by their example. This hollows it in the eyes of the world. Would the church only see to the removing of such props, the unsightly fabric must soon totter and fall. Many church officers and members in former years, were in the habit of dram drinking. It was thought no sin to manufacture the liquid poison, and sell it. These good men partook of it themselves; and no doubt did, unintentionally, in drowning the souls of many into destruction and perdition. But see what has been done by discussion and the testing of such practices by the principles of the Bible. What evangelical church would now choose a dram-drinking minister to instruct them, and be an example to the flock. A few has produced this great change. It is not at all impossible that a few years more will find slaveholding ministers in the same predicament.—Nay, if they would now refuse any longer to touch the unclean thing, would not such conduct be approved and admired by every candid mind. If reformation, do not commence at the house of God, assuredly judgment will begin there, for the month of the Lord hath spoken it.

MEETING ON FRIDAY EVENING.

It is high time that something was done about petitioning. Some of the friends have resolved to hold a meeting on Thursday evening, at the anti-slavery office, to consult as to what shall be done. See the call in the next column. We hope it will be well attended.

NOTICE.

The Monthly Concert of Prayer for the Slave, will be held next Monday evening, in the basement of the First Baptist Church, corner of 7th and Elm sts. Nov. 24, 1841.

FOR SALE CHEAP!

"Cause and Cure of Infidelity." By Rev. David Nelson, of Quincy, Ill. Any individual wishing this work can have it by application to the subscriber. Third edition, published by the American Tract Society.

D. D. NELSON.

Walnut Hills, Lane Seminary, O., Oct. 5, 1841.

Messrs. WOODSON & TINSLEY, House Carpenters and Joiners, near the corner of Eighth and Broadway, Cincinnati, feeling grateful for their patronage since the association as a firm, inform their friends and the public that they are prepared to do all kinds of House Carpenters and Joiners work, at the shortest notice and on the most reasonable terms. WOODSON & TINSLEY.

## SPECIAL NOTICE TO ANTI-SLAVERY MEN.

A special meeting will be held on Friday evening next, at 7 o'clock, at the Anti-Slavery Depository on Main st., where the attendance of all who can come will be indispensably necessary to consider and adopt a plan for obtaining Petitioners to the next Legislature and Congress, for anti-slavery purposes.

Will our friends from Walnut Hills please send us a delegation, with a report of the number there who will lend us aid, and in what district of Town or County.

JOHN MAHONY, D. K. LEAVITT, THOS. HAYES, GEO. R. SMITH, And Others.

Nov. 24, 1841.

## GRANVILLE FEMALE ACADEMY.

The Winter term will commence on Thursday the 16th day of September next, and continue 20 weeks.

TRACED. Miss M. B. Gilmore, Principal. Miss O. H. Bailey, Miss G. E. Ames, B. M. Davis, J. J. Hargis.

Preparatory Department,	Per Qr.
Academical Department, including Mathematics and Vocal Music,	4.50
Board, exclusive of fuel and lights (per week)	1.00
Room rent (per quarter)	1.00
Whole expense per quarter, exclusive of fuel, bed and lights,	16.00
Do, including bed and fuel,	20.00
Drawing, extra	2.00
Painting,	4.00
Instruction on piano,	2.00
Use of Instrument,	2.00
French,	2.00

To be paid quarterly in advance. Mr. and Mrs. Gilmore expect to devote themselves, for the ensuing five years, to the interests of the Young Ladies committed to their care; and they hope, by careful attention to their Moral, Intellectual and Physical wants, to contribute to their happiness, while members of their family, and prepare them for usefulness in the discharge of the active duties of life. The qualifications and success of the Principal, and other Teachers of the Institution, are too well known to need further commendation. Parents and guardians will understand, that we have a healthy and pleasant location, with 58 very convenient rooms, furnishing ample accommodations for 100 young ladies. W. W. BANCROFT, Corresponding Sec. of Trustees. Granville, O. July 5th, 1841.

## Bank Note List.

CORRECTED BY GEORGE MILNE & CO.

Exchange Brokers—West Third Street. OHIO—Ohio Life and Trust Co., on demand, 8 pms. Bank of Cincinnati, 3 pms. Miami Exporting Co., 3 pms. Lebanon, Miami, 2 pms. Farmers' Bank of Canton, 5 pms. Small notes of solvent Banks, 2 pms.

## LATEST BROKEN BANKS.

West Union, New Bank of Shreveport, German Bank of Wooster, New Bank of Circleville.

KENTUCKY, 2 pms. INDIANA, 3 pms. ILLINOIS, 1 dis. MISSOURI, 2 dis. MICHIGAN—Bank of St. Clair, 2 dis. WISCONSIN—Marine and Fire Insurance Company at Milwaukee, 2 dis.

TENNESSEE, 2 3 dis. ALABAMA, 2 3 dis. ARKANSAS, 2 3 dis. LOUISIANA, 5 6 pms. S. CAROLINA, 2 3 dis. N. CAROLINA, 2 3 dis. EASTERN—New York, 8 9 dis. New England States, 7 8 dis. Pennsylvania, 8 9 dis. Maryland



## POETRY.

### The Physician to his Dying Child.

BY MISS. S. C. EDGARTON.

'Tis a bright land, my child!  
Beauty is smiling in its quiet streams;  
Its green savannas, too, are softly wild,  
And rich as Eden dreams.

The beautiful young flowers  
Are blushing in the vales to woo thee forth;  
And there is glory in the noontide hours,  
And freshness in the earth.

There are the gay winged birds,  
Whom thou hast loved so well, my gentle boy;  
They come around thee, warbling gladsome words,  
And hymns of love and joy.

Oh Science! I have knelt  
Long years before thee, and have made thy shrine  
My dwelling place, till I have almost felt  
Thy potency divine.

And now when I would woo  
Thy gentle aid for one more dear than life,  
I find that thou art powerless to subdue  
The spoiler in his strife.

Vainly I've culled the leaf  
From the wild brook-side, and the woodland slope,  
To bring him healing, naught but silent grief  
Sits in the place of hope.

Alas! my own dear child!  
The dearest treasure to this life's rough sea;  
How have I worshipped till my life grew wild  
In dazling dreams for thee!

I would give thee the ore,  
And bid it minister its healing gift;  
And every flower should yield its balmy store  
Thy drooping form to lift.

But medicine no wealth  
Of life's rich currents can restore to thee;  
Dry at thy fountains are the springs of health  
Beside youth's flowering tree!

My gentle-hearted one,  
Look forth once more upon this radiant clime;  
Thou art so young thou canst not yet have done  
With the loved things of time.

Thy mother sits in tears  
By the lone fire-side of our northern home,  
Waiting in solitude, and grief, and fears,  
The hour for thee to come.

Thou shalt return, my child;  
Thy mother's kiss will meet thy pale cold cheek;  
But sealed will be the lips that would have smiled,  
She will not hear thee speak.

The music from her heart  
Will die away, the sweet-toned chord be mute,  
Which at thy gentle touch, could once impart  
Strains like some soft-voiced lute.

Yes, thou shalt go ere long,  
To the dear home so loved by thee and me,  
Where the wild blue-bird pours his joyous song,  
Upon the old elm tree.

Go—but with peaceful breast,  
With pallid cheek, and glazed and sunken eye,  
Yes, thou shalt go in the home-land to rest,  
Where I, too, soon shall lie.

God calls thee hence my son,  
And thou shalt go in his bright place to dwell;  
I must not murmur—may his will be done!  
Beloved child, farewell!

## MISCELLANEOUS.

From the Anti-Slavery Standard.

### The Stupid Rogue

A story founded on a fact, with fictitious names,  
and invented incidents, too slight to impair  
the truth of the narrative.

Frederic Allen, a native of Massachusetts,  
left the old Bay State with half her soil untilled,  
and like thousands of others, went off to the  
West, "to seek his fortune." A gentleman,  
connected with him by marriage, invited him to  
spend a few days at his house, in Lexington,  
Kentucky. Every thing was calculated to please  
the young stranger. He was delighted with the  
hospitality and cordial frankness of his host;  
all the convenient attentions of wealth sur-  
rounded him; the slaves looked sleek and well  
fed; and his youthful self-importance was not a  
little flattered by their servile politeness and  
frequent repetition of "young massa."

The servant who brought his boots, polished  
like a mirror, was a particularly handsome,  
bright-looking mulatto, with a slight expression  
of mischief lurking in the corner of his eye.  
Seeing him at work with great slight of hand,  
the New Englander one day said to him, "What  
a smart fellow you are, Harry! You must be  
able to earn a good deal of money. I almost  
wonder you haven't made off for Ohio, before  
now."

The chamber-maid was standing near, broom  
in hand; Harry looked at her, and she looked up  
at Harry. The glance seemed to be involuntary,  
and was exceedingly brief; yet the stranger  
thought he detected in it something quizzical  
and significant. Fearful that he was working  
mischief for his host, he hastily added, "Don't  
think that I advise you to go to Ohio, Harry.—  
They tell me a good many of you smart fellows  
run off, thinking they can do better at the North;  
but with such a place as you've got, you'd be a  
fool to try it. You've got a first-rate master,  
haven't you?"

"O yes, massa,"  
"I'm glad you know when you're well off. I  
don't suppose you want your freedom?"  
"O no massa; if there's anything I do despise,  
it's a free nigger."

"Poor creatures," replied the young man,  
"they don't know what it is to have a kind mas-  
ter, to provide for them all the year round."  
He closed the door of the room after him, as  
he spoke. Harry looked at Ann, raised his eye-  
brows, put his fore finger to the side of his nose,  
and gave a low, chuckling laugh. Ann did not  
laugh, but she looked very queer.

The next morning Mr. Allen's boots were not  
brushed. "Where's Harry?" said one; and  
"Where's Harry?" asked another, but nobody  
could tell. Ann, his wife, being questioned,  
answered very demurely, that she had not seen  
him since daylight, when he went out to take  
care of the horses.

On searching the stable, it was found that he  
had taken care of one horse, at least; for the ani-  
mal was nowhere to be found. The master  
raved, and swore that Ann should be flogged,  
if she did not tell forthwith, which-way Harry  
had gone. Whereupon Ann began to cry, and  
said very demurely, "How could she tell! She  
didn't ask Harry where he was going;" and her  
mistress began to cry also, begging that Ann  
might not be whipped.

"D—n it," said the angry master, "this is  
a fine piece of business! The best servant I had,  
I was offered \$1,200 for him, only last week.  
And the rascal has taken my horse too!"

Frederic Allen colored to the temples: "Could  
it have been I, that put Ohio into his head?"  
thought he; "Surely not; for the plan must have  
been longer than one night ripening. But I  
now remember the cunning rascal had asked me  
a great many questions. I'll be hanged if he  
didn't get out of me the whole history of my  
route from the North!"

He questioned Ann, with a scrutinizing gaze;  
but she looked down, very innocent and stupid,  
and answered with respectful brevity, baffling  
investigation. Having a great regard for "prop-  
erty," his mind was ill at ease; and he took op-  
portunity to confess to his hostess that he feared  
he had, quite unconsciously, been an accomplice  
in Harry's escape.

To his great surprise she answered cheerfully,  
"I am glad of it, Mr. Allen; and I wish in  
my heart they would all walk off. As for this  
horse, what consequence is it? The poor fel-  
low would have been overtaken, if he'd gone  
afloat. My husband is rich; and we owed Harry  
more wages than the horse would come to. I'm  
only sorry he did not take his wife and children  
with him."

The husband was of a different opinion. He  
instituted a diligent search, and offered a large  
reward, but all in vain. He was, however, of a  
placid and easy disposition, and after swear-  
ing for a few days, blaming his own foolish in-  
dulgence, and the cursed abolition tendencies of  
his New England wife, he appeared to forget all  
about the matter. Moreover, after five or six  
glasses of wine one day, he swore with a round  
oath that "Harry was no fool, and that he had  
done just as he would if he were a slave."

Months passed on, and no tidings came of  
Harry. A new husband was provided for Ann,  
but she refused to live with him. Her master  
considered this a very unprofitable arrangement,  
and as usual swore at her for her obstinacy.—  
But when he tried to convince her that Harry  
would never come back, she cried; and though  
he threatened to have her flogged, he could  
never bring his mind to give the order. His  
slaves knew very well that they had a friend in  
his own household, and a secret pleader in his  
own unhardened heart.

Before a year had elapsed, to the astonish-  
ment of all but one, Harry came back, ragged  
and dirty, with a long beard, and bare feet. He  
knelt to his master, begging forgiveness. "I  
did not know how well off I was," said he. "I  
was deceived with the lies they told me about  
freedom. I thought I could get a good living  
if I was free; but that Canada is a miserable  
place. I've worn out the good clothes you gave  
me, massa, and I couldn't get a dollar to buy  
any more. I've been starved and frozen; I'm  
sick enough of freedom. If you'll only forgive  
me, massa, I'll be proud to work for you the  
longest day I have to live."

Of course the master did forgive him; and he  
had a bright new suit of clothes forthwith; and  
his master gave him a silver dollar, and Frederic  
Allen gave him a silver dollar; and the neigh-  
boring planters praised him, and gave him to-  
bacco and small change. Moreover, the gener-  
ous Kentuckian gave a servant's ball on the oc-  
casion, to all the slaves on the plantation, and  
they were all told to look up to Harry, and hear  
what Harry had to say, and follow Harry's exam-  
ple. And Harry was repeatedly instructed to take  
every opportunity of talking with them, and not  
be sparing of pains to let them know all about  
his experience of freedom.

The intelligent slave obeyed these orders  
with a zeal, which had it been duly appreci-  
ated, would have raised him as high as Haman;  
that is, fifty cubits higher than he wished. For  
three months he labored with unbounded dili-  
gence, and was treated with a degree of consid-  
eration that excited the envy of all his class.—  
Even his mistress began to think it was indeed  
better for the poor creatures to have somebody  
to support and protect them: forgetting the self-  
evident fact that the masters are the ones that  
"cannot take care of themselves."

But one night, as she lay awake, she heard at  
midnight the shutting of doors, and the sup-  
pressed murmuring of voices. For a moment  
she was alarmed, but then came the conviction  
that some of the servants were ill, so she turned  
over her pillow, and slept quietly till morning.

Ann did not appear as usual, to assist at her  
toilet. She was nowhere to be found. She had  
gone, and Harry was gone, and the children  
were gone, and Ann's brother and sister, and  
Harry's two brothers had gone along with them;  
and about that time seventeen slaves in the  
neighborhood disappeared strangely.

Harry had been ordered to tell them all he  
knew about freedom, and he had taken care that  
no opportunity should be lost. Many a sly  
glance had passed between him and Ann, when  
praises were showered upon him; and when she  
expressed any doubts about the projected expe-  
dition, he answered, "Never you fear. You know  
I went on purpose to find out about things, and  
I tell you we can get a good living, and no-  
body can catch us after we get into Canada; and  
I know the road, now, just as well as I know  
the way to bed; and I know folks that'll let  
us have fresh horses every fifteen miles. I've got  
money enough to pay 'em for it, too. Didn't I  
bring my wages stitched in my ragged coat?—  
And hasn't master given me a silver dollar, and  
many a shining sixpence? And power of cash!  
Because, you see, I like to be a slave so well!"  
The mischievous fellow made a significant  
motion with his finger, and looked out of the  
corner of his eye with inexpressible roguery;  
and Ann thought, what she often said, that "her  
Harry was about the cutest chap ever raised in  
old Kentucky."

This last effort completely astounded the  
Kentuckian. He did not even swear about it,  
but manifested a most decided aversion even to  
hear the subject mentioned. In fact, both him-  
self and his wife were in that state of mind, that  
one hour's conversation with such an one as  
John Woolman or Elias Hicks would have pro-  
duced the entire emancipation of all their slaves.

Had the moral sentiment of New England  
been sound on this subject, and had Frederic  
Allen carried thence to Kentucky true principles  
of freedom, a few words from him, seasonably  
spoken, would have redeemed them all.

But the moral sentiment of the free States is  
corrupt, and therefore the thoughtless young  
man found nothing better to utter than reproach-  
es on the "ungrateful negroes." Reader, are  
you quite guiltless of co-partnership in forming  
and sustaining this unhealthy public sentiment?  
I fear not.

### Discovery in Agriculture.

The world has been looking forward to a time  
when the "sword shall be beaten into the plough-  
share," but here is a discovery which promises  
to have the effect of directing speculation to a  
point beyond which ploughshares themselves  
shall, if not beaten into something else, at least  
have to be discontinued. The annexed article  
will be found to be one of much interest and  
importance.

AN IMPORTANT DISCOVERY IN AGRICULTURE.  
—In the Phalange, a Fourier paper published at  
Paris, September 8th, a novel discovery is de-

scribed, which if true, will work a great change in  
an important department of agricultural labor. It  
is communicated to the Paris print by Charles  
Poillard, and M. Bernard, who date their letter at  
Brest, August, 1841. It appears that while they  
and some of their friends, who farm their own es-  
tates, were engaged in conversation on the sub-  
ject of agriculture, it was observed by one of  
them, that that branch of industry was suffering  
more from the want of capital and enterprise  
than any other, and that nothing was to be done  
without manure, which was every day becoming  
more scarce and expensive. This remark  
led to an inquiry into the properties of manure,  
and particularly as to what provision nature had  
made in those uncultivated regions, where there  
seems to be a vigorous and luxuriant growth,  
without artificial assistance.

"In observing nature unassisted, or unwar-  
ped, rather, by the hand of man, in vegetable  
reproduction, it is found that when the seed is  
ripe it falls upon the ground, and then the plant  
which has produced it sheds its leaves or falls  
itself upon it, in decay, and covers and protects  
it from the weather, until generation has com-  
menced, and the young plant is able to grow up  
in health and strength, and full development, to  
recommence the same routine of seeding and of  
reproduction.

"From this it follows, that, in nature, every  
plant produces its own soil or humus, and that  
the earth only serves to bear the plant, and  
not to aid or nourish it in vegetation. The  
nourishment of plants is thus supposed to be  
derived from air and water, heat and light, or  
electricity, in different proportions, adapted to  
the different varieties of vegetable nature."

With this general notion in their minds, and  
considering what to be, in its present circum-  
stances, one of the most important vegetable  
substances, they agreed to try experiments, and  
in October last undertook the following opera-  
tions.

In a field which had been sown with rye be-  
cause the land was deemed too poor for wheat,  
a plot of twelve square yards untilled and left  
without manure was carefully strewn over with  
grains of wheat, and wheat straw was laid  
closely upon it, and about one inch in thickness.  
In a garden, also, which had been neglected sev-  
eral years, a few square yards of earth were  
trodden over, and the surface being made close  
and hard, some grains of wheat were scattered  
on this hardened surface, and a layer of straw  
one inch in depth was carefully laid over it and  
left, as in the former case to take its chance  
without ulterior attention. And, in order to  
make doubt impossible concerning the mere  
secondary function of mineral earth in vegeta-  
ble reproduction, twenty grains of wheat were  
sown upon the surface of a pane of glass and  
covered with some straw alone, as in the other  
case.

The germination of the seed was soon appar-  
ent, and most healthy in development. "The  
winter has been rigorous," say these correspond-  
ents, "for this part of the country, and the  
earth has sometimes been frozen in one solid  
mass to the depth of six inches in the garden  
where the wheat was sown and this happened  
several times during the winter, to the great in-  
jury of many plants, and even the entire destruc-  
tion of some, while the spots protected by the  
straw were never thoroughly congealed, nor  
were the grains of wheat, though lying on the  
surface under the wheat, at all affected by the  
cold. During the spring excessive droughts  
prolonged, and several times repeated, have  
prevented vegetation on the common plan from  
flourishing in healthy progress, while our little  
spots of wheat have hardly felt the inconveni-  
ence of excessive dryness, for the earth pro-  
tected by the straw has never been deprived en-  
tirely of moisture, and our blades of corn were  
flourishing, when all around were drooping and  
uncertain. To conclude, then, we have thor-  
oughly succeeded in our practical experiment, and  
the wheat produced is of the finest quality." The  
straw was not more than six feet high, and in  
the ears were 50, 60, and even 80 grains of  
wheat of full development, the admiration of all  
who saw them, and particularly those which  
grew upon the pane of glass, which were quite  
as healthy and as large as those which grew up-  
on the common earth. It must be observed al-  
so that there was not the smallest particle of  
earth upon the glass, and that the plants were  
left entirely to themselves, without being wa-  
tered or attended to in any way whatever from  
the time of sowing to the time of reaping.

The cause of success, they think, may be ex-  
plained in the following manner:

"Straw being a bad conductor of heat, and a  
good conductor of electricity, maintains the root  
of the plant in a medium temperature, and pre-  
vents the earth from being deprived entirely of  
moisture. The moisture of the earth, or the  
substratum, being continual, facilitates the gradu-  
al and constant absorption of carbonic acid gas  
from the surrounding atmosphere, and hydrogen  
and carbon, the chief elements of nourishment  
to vegetables, are thus economized in regular  
supplies where they are constantly required, and  
pass in combination with oxygen from the roots  
up to the stems and branches of the plants in  
which they are assimilated, and the oxygen  
throws off in exhalation from the leaves. The  
straw decays but slowly, and thus furnishes its  
substance by degrees to the young plant in due  
proportion and proportion, (such as the siliques  
ingredients, for instance, of the pod or cap-  
sule,) so that the decomposition of the straw  
corresponds to the four phases of fermentation  
in progressing from the saccharine to the alco-  
holic, the acid and the putrid states, analogous  
to those of infancy, budding youth, and seed-  
ing of the plant.

"We observe that our blades of wheat have  
but a very few roots, and those are short and  
hard, something like a bird's claw; and this  
agrees with the remark of Mons. Raspail, who  
states that the most healthy plants in ordinary  
vegetation have the least exuberance of roots  
and fibres.

"Another important observation, also, is, that  
weeds and parasitical vegetation are prevented  
by this method, for the straw chokes every other  
plant but that of its own seed. Many other  
interesting observations might be made on these  
experiments, but we refrain, at present, from  
obtruding on your readers; but if any of them  
wish for further information on this subject, we  
shall willingly afford them every facility. The  
importance of the general result will easily be-  
come apparent without further comment, and a  
revolution in the present modes of agricultural  
labor is a necessary consequence of this discov-  
ery. No tillage will now be required, nor any  
artificial stimulants in manure, and other more  
or less expensive combinations with regard to  
soil and culture. In fact, it would be tedious to  
enumerate the various advantages that may re-  
sult in practice from this casual experiment; and  
therefore we proclaim it simply to the world,  
that all may profit by it."

As this experiment can be easily tried, we  
hope some of our farmers will put it to the test,  
and communicate the result. We shall certainly  
try it in a small seven by nine foot of ground,  
which is the largest that is vouchsafed to a  
dweller in the city.—N. Y. Evening Post.

## VALUABLE MUSIC BOOKS.

Sold by Robinson, Pratt, & Co., New York City; by  
Dodge & Park, New Haven; John Paine, Hartford;  
Grigg & Elliott, Philadelphia; by T. B. Mason, Cin-  
cinnati; and by Booksellers generally throughout the  
United States.

Twentieth Edition of *Mason's Sacred Harp*, or  
*Beauties of Church Music*, a new collection of Psalm  
and Hymn Tunes, Anthems, Sentences and Chants,  
derived from the compositions of about one hundred  
eminent German, Swiss, Italian, French, English and  
other European musicians. Also, original tunes by  
German, English, and American authors, many of them  
having been arranged, or composed, expressly for this  
work. By Lowell Mason, Professor in the Boston Aca-  
demy of Music, author of Boston Handel and Haydn  
Collection, the Boston Academy's Collection, etc., etc.  
and by his brother, T. B. Mason, Professor of Sacred  
Music, and Organist at Fourth Street Church, etc.—  
Twentieth Stereotyped edition, revised and greatly im-  
proved by the introduction of eighty tunes not in former  
editions. The Elements of Vocal Music, which are on  
the inductive method, have been greatly extended and  
newly arranged in the precise order that is pursued in  
teaching school music, and is a beautiful collection  
with each lesson, will, in a great measure, dispense with  
the use of the black board. The above work is now  
known by the general title of "*Mason's Sacred Harp*,"  
Volume One. It is intended to make "*Mason's Sacred  
Harp*," the general repository, of the "*Gems in Melody  
and Harmony*," which have heretofore been scattered  
throughout the various practical works connected with  
church music. The old and new choruses, standard  
Tunes, is a service to church choirs and singing  
schools, which has been already liberally rewarded. The  
sale of twenty editions in the short time the "*Sacred  
Harp*" has been before the public, and the steadily in-  
creasing patronage bestowed upon the work, is regarded as  
evidence that it is the very best collection extant, for  
singing schools, churches, and private societies.

From numerous Recommendations the following are  
selected.

From the Boston Spectator.

We hope all will encourage *Mason's Sacred Harp*.  
We speak of *Mason's Harp*, because we know well its  
merits. We hesitate not to say, that it is the best work  
extant.

From the New York Evangelist.

*Mason's Sacred Harp* is what is called in the title  
page, a very select and useful work—the best collection  
of church music extant, for congregations anywhere.

From the Baptist Advocate.

*Mason's Sacred Harp*—The lovers of Sacred Song  
will find a rich treat in this new collection. No one man  
in our country has done so much for church music as  
Lowell Mason. He has given us the "*Boston Handel  
and Haydn Collection*," the "*Choir or Union Collection*,"  
the "*Boston Academy Collection*," etc., etc., all valuable  
works, and entitled to the extensive patronage which has  
been bestowed upon them; but it is safe to say, that the  
"*Sacred Harp*" has not an equal in the English language.  
This book is a volume of "*Gems in Melody and Harmony*."  
Every denomination will promote devotional melody  
by adopting this collection as the standard of church  
music.

From Mr. Billings, Professor of Sacred Music.

*Mason's Sacred Harp* is the most complete, interesting  
and useful collection of Psalm and hymn tunes I have  
ever seen. It is emphatically sacred music. I will en-  
courage its general introduction.

From the Journal.

We are familiar with all of *Mason's* publications, and  
have carefully examined the *Sacred Harp*. The volume  
is composed of very beautiful melodies, and harmonies of  
almost unequalled richness. It is justly entitled  
"the beauties of music." The tunes are admirably ad-  
apted to the effective expression of poetry, a circumstance  
upon which the happiest effect of Christian Psalmody de-  
pends. This book is a particularly recommended to those  
whose object it is to suit music to the words sung, or to  
make music subordinate to sentiment, and thus eminently  
conducive to devotion.

From Mr. Hamilton, Director of music in the

"Methodist Church, Wheeling."  
We are using *Mason's Sacred Harp* in our church.  
I should be much pleased to see it in general use—the  
music will please and improve the voices of sacred song.  
The tunes are well suited to the different variety of met-  
res, and it is a desirable collection for churches and  
schools.

Just Published.

Vol. II.—*Mason's Sacred Harp*, or *Beauties of  
Church Music*.—Vol. II. contains full, new, and original  
Psalm and Hymn Tunes, Anthems, Sentences, Duets,  
Solos, Quartets, etc., etc. This volume does not  
contain a single tune found in the first volume—it is  
a complete and independent book of itself, and will be  
sold separately. It is stereotyped from entirely new type  
of great beauty and perfection, procured expressly for  
the following reasons:—The first volume, in its origi-  
nal extended and enlarged edition, is so large, and its  
adaptation to the various wants of the lovers of Sacred  
Melody. It will be found permanently useful, and it is  
hoped will receive a patronage in some degree com-  
mensurate with the varied talent, labor and expense that  
have been employed in its production.

The following notice, we think, will show the estima-  
tion in which it is held by good musicians.  
From a Report of the Committee of the "*Electric Aca-  
demy of Music*" on Musical publications; unanimously  
adopted by the Government and Members,  
March 24th.

"The *Sacred Harp*, Vol. II., has been carefully  
examined by your committee, which cannot but regard it  
as possessing in an eminent degree that chaste, classic  
beauty of melody, and richness of harmony, which consti-  
tute the "*soul of music*," and which cannot fail to  
render it a standard work."

It is confidently believed that the efforts made by the  
Editor to furnish his readers with an extended  
variety of good *Stock Music*,—such as will be per-  
manently useful and interesting, will receive the approba-  
tion of Churches, Choirs, and Singers generally.

A COPY OF THE RECORDS.

C. R. FOLGER, Sec'y. of the Academy.  
From the "*Harmonical Society*," of W. R. College,  
Hudson.

"THE SACRED HARP, VOLUME II, merits our highest  
approbation, and is a rich addition to our Library. Its  
object in publishing an additional volume, is to fur-  
nish an extended variety of good style, metre and  
adaptation to the various wants of the lovers of Sacred  
Melody. It will be found permanently useful, and it is  
hoped will receive a patronage in some degree com-  
mensurate with the varied talent, labor and expense that  
have been employed in its production.

By order of the Society.

W. S. BARBER, Sec'y.

*Mason's Sacred Harp*, or *Beauties of Church Music*,  
Vol. 2nd.—We hesitate not, most confidently to recom-  
mend this as a book of extraordinary merit; one of the  
best, if not the very best collections of Church Music  
extant. It is a volume of Sacred Melodies, with rich  
and beautiful and classical harmonies, combining that striking  
purity and solidity of style, for which German musicians  
are, perhaps, more peculiar than any others. The beau-  
tiful typography of the work will speak for itself.

From Mr. Allen, Professor of Sacred Music in Ober-  
lin College.  
For a few years past, we have made selections for  
Church Music from the "*Sacred Harp*," Volume I. I  
have ever esteemed it a beautiful collection, comprising a  
great variety of chaste and approved tunes in all the  
usua metres.

Volume II.—I approve most fully your plan of pub-  
lishing new selections and arrangements in successive  
volumes, by which purchasers are relieved from the  
necessity of repeatedly buying the same music. The  
melodies are exceedingly sweet and tasteful—the har-  
mony rich, flowing and impressive. It should, by all  
means, accompany the first volume,—especially in those  
Choirs which are somewhat advanced. I doubt not it  
will secure to the publishers an extensive patronage; and  
I shall do what I can to extend its circulation.

## EXCHANGE OFFICE.

F. H. BRAYTON, EXCHANGE BROKER,  
Cleveland Ohio.

Eastern Funds, Specie, and uncurrent Money  
bought and sold on favorable terms.

R. H. BLACKMER & CO.  
Tea-total Temperance  
GROCERIES & COMMISSION MERCHANTS.  
Near Float Bridge, Cleveland.

## NOTICE—MILK—MILK

We are now prepared to inform our friends  
that we still continue to supply this City,  
with Milk on the six day principle, omitting the  
Sabbath, and have made permanent arrangements  
to continue it. All persons willing to sus-  
tain us, are requested to send their names and  
residence to the Office of the Philanthropist.

C. M. MERRELL,  
N. H. MERRELL.

## FARMS AND COUNTRY SEATS FOR SALE.

A delightful Country Seat, situated upon a McAdams-  
road, half a mile from town, in an excellent neigh-  
borhood, with 5 acres of land; a frame house containing 8  
rooms, a hall, a piazza, a porch and 3 cellars; also a good  
farm barn with a carriage house and stable; a well, a  
cistern and a spring. The grounds are well planted with  
peach, apple, pear, quince and plum trees, and embellished  
with shrubs and evergreens.

A handsome Country Seat with 16 acres of land, locat-  
ed upon a Turnpike road 3 miles from town, in a healthy  
and respectable neighborhood, where there are several  
churches and schools. The improvements consist of a  
brick house with 9 rooms, a cellar and a porch; also 2  
frame barns, a milk house, a stable, a wood house, a well  
and many springs; likewise 2 orchards, a garden and a  
yard well paved. The land is chiefly in grass, good  
quality and well located for tillage.

A Farm of 60 acres, situated upon a Turnpike road,  
8 miles from town, with 40 acres of tillage, a house with  
4 rooms, a good farm barn with a stone cellar, a cistern,  
a well, several springs, 2 good orchards of plum, peach,  
apple and cherry trees; and a garden well planted with  
vines, raspberry, currant and gooseberry bushes. The  
land is good, well watered with springs, and located on  
both sides of the road.

A Farm of 195 acres, with 115 in tillage, situat-  
ed upon a Turnpike road, 26 miles from Cincinnati, near  
a populous town. The improvements consist of a  
frame house, a superior barn 91 by 40 feet, with stables  
for 40 head of cattle, a hog pen for 100 swine, an arched  
cellar for 1000 bushels of roots, a corn crib for 2000  
bushels of corn, a wagon house 40 by 21 feet, 2 wells,  
2 orchards, a garden with gooseberry, raspberry and  
strawberry beds, and a paddock well stocked with  
plum, peach and pear trees. The soil consists of rich  
bottom, and excellent upland, well fenced and watered  
with numerous springs.

A Farm of 50 acres, situated upon a road, 24 miles  
from town, having 35 acres in cultivation, upon a Turnpike  
road, with 6 rooms, a hall and a cellar; an excellent well with  
a pump, 3 log buildings, many springs and an orchard of  
200 apple, plum, peach and cherry trees, good kinds.  
The land is of good quality, and is in the vicinity of a  
church and a school.

A desirable Farm of 116 acres with 70 acres in tillage,  
situated 28 miles from town, upon a Turnpike road, in  
a healthy and respectable neighborhood, where there  
are several churches and schools. The improvements com-  
prise an excellent brick house with 10 rooms, a cellar  
and a porch; a good farm barn, a well and crib, wagon  
and a smoke house; also a garden well paved and stocked  
with various shrubs, grape vines, apricot, peach and pear  
trees; likewise an orchard of grape, peach and pear trees.  
The land is fertile, well located for culture, fenced and  
supplied with springs and a run.

A